1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927)1930
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174 the symbol meaning "place of,"[1] is found in several of the ancient codices. The Codex Mendoza[2] lists Tepoztlán as one of the *pueblos* conquered by the Aztecs under the elder Montezuma. The Codex Aubin-Goupil[3] states that in 1487 new "kings" were installed in Cuauhnahuac, Tepoztlán, Huaxtepec, and Xilotepec. Cuauhnahuac was one of the first of the neighboring *pueblos* to be conquered by the Aztecs; this town, and presumably also Tepoztlán, became tributary to Tenochtitlan. The glyphs on the ruined *teocalli*,[4] situated just above the town, contain the name of Ahuitzotl, Aztec war chief, and a date which has been correlated with modern chronology to read 1502 A.D.,[5] the last year of his tenure of office.

[172]

176 Some one of the many gods generally shared by the highland *pueblos* of Mexico was regarded as the special protector of each one of the villages. That deity particularly associated with Tepoztlán was Ome Tochtli ("Two Rabbit"), the god generally described as that of drunkenness,[6] but probably one also with genera-

[103]

[1] *Tepoztli* in Nahuatl meant "ax" and "copper"—and after the coming of the Spaniards, also "iron." *Tlan* means "near," and is a common place-ending. Rebus fashion, it is written by the picture of the incisor teeth (*tlantli*). Early writings refer to the manufacture and trade in copper axes by the pre-Columbian Tepoztecans.

[2] Plate IX of the Kingsborough reproduction.

[3] So says Edward Seler, art., "Die Tempelpyramide von Tepoztlan," p. 124.

[4] *Novello, Guia para visitar las principales ruinas arqueologicas del estado de Morelos*, pp. 3–15.

[5] The year *Macuilli Tochtli* ("Ten Rabbit") (see Seler, *op. cit.*, p. 125).

[6] "This is an illustration of a grand debauch which a pueblo called Tepoztlán celebrates as a ceremony. The custom was that when any Indian dies drunk, the others of this pueblo held a grand ceremony, with axes of copper, which they use for cutting wood in their hands. This pueblo is part of Yautepec, and its in-

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CHAPTER IV

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE VILLAGE 621

The social organization of the village itself follows the same pattern as that just described for the entire valley community. Tepoztlán, like the whole community of which it is the largest village, is made up of [794] semi-independent units, each of which centers about a church and a patron saint. These units are the *barrios*. The *barrios* are the contiguous component parts of the village, but their presence and relative positions are indicated by the towers of the seven small [346] churches or chapels (*capillas*) which, with the great central church situated on the *plaza*, alone of the buildings of Tepoztlán, project above the sea of foliage which covers the town in the rainy season. These seven small chapels are scattered about the village; no two are close together. Each is located in and is 621 the property of one of the seven *barrios*. The chapel 778 and the *barrio* take their name from the saint whose 796 image is placed on the altar of the chapel and on 103 whose name day falls the *fiesta* of that *barrio*. Santa Cruz has not one, but two, *fiestas*—one on May 3, the other on August 6—because there are two images in the chapel, that of the Santa Cruz and that of San Salvador. In this case, while the *barrio* is known as Santa Cruz, Saint Salvador[1] is thought of as the pat- [776]

[1] "Saint Salvador"—rather than an aspect of the Christ.

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927)1930
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621 778 796 776 103 ron of the *barrio*. The small hamlet of Ixcatepec, just outside Tepoztlán, has the same two images and the same two *fiestas*. By arrangement of long standing, however, Ixcatepec celebrates its *fiestas* a week after those of Santa Cruz.

621 162 The *barrios* vary a great deal in size. The number of houses in each *barrio* is approximately as follows:

San Pedro	35	La Santísima (Trinidad)	175
Los Reyes	65	San Miguel	150
San Sebastian	14	San Domingo	175
Santa Cruz	100		

Roughly speaking, there are four large *barrios* and three small ones. The three large *barrios* last named are grouped about the central *plaza*, while the three small ones and Santa Cruz are situated above (west of) the others.[1] The boundaries of the *barrios* are clearly defined. Sometimes a boundary runs in the middle of a street and sometimes the houses on both sides pertain to the same *barrio*, the boundary then running just behind a row of houses. Occasionally there are irregular jogs which take a few houses out of a block and include them in another *barrio*. A whole block of houses, geographically in San Miguel, belong to the *barrio* of Santa Cruz, although almost at the opposite end of town.[2] The inhabitants of these houses take 794 their turn in the care of the chapel of Santa Cruz, and pay the contribution paid by *barrio* members at the time of the *fiesta* of that *barrio*.

[1] See map, p. 220.

[2] How this came about the writer is unable to say. No informant had any explanation.

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927) 1930
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sites in which lived their ancestors for many generations. These house sites bear individual Nahuatl names[1] by which addresses are given; street names are rarely used. When, therefore, an individual comes from without a *barrio* and rents a house there, he does not thereby become a member of that *barrio*. Lists given of *barrio* members often omit the occupants of certain houses, and these always turn out to be houses rented by outsiders, or, in a few cases, houses owned and occupied by members of other *barrios*.

This latter case leads to the point that there are living in every *barrio* certain families that are known to belong to a *barrio* other than that in which they live.[2] This probably came about when an ancestor bought a site in some other *barrio*. In these cases the entire family must have moved, leaving no one in the old *barrio* to continue the membership there. Of course a man may and probably frequently does change his *barrio* membership by changing his *barrio* residence. This may come about if a father with several sons buys for one or more of them a house site in another *barrio*. The son, usually the oldest, who re-

[1] Such names are: *Totoc*, "place of birds"; *Tlateliticpac*, "on top of the slope"; *Tecuanilan*, "place of wolves"; *Tlaxcalchican*, "place of *tortillas*"; *Techichilco*, "red stone"; *Iztapa*, "place of salt"; *Teopanixpa*, "in front of the church." Some are hybrid terms, as: *Pulquetlan*, "place of pulque"; *Cruznepanihyan*, "place of crossed crosses." A typical contemporary Nahuatl toponomy is to be found in Gamio, *La población del valle de San Juan Teotihuacan*, Tomo II, Vol. II, pp. 649 ff.

[2] One of the writer's informants, living in Los Reyes, belonged to La Santísima, although neither she nor any other informant could tell at what time the family had moved. In Los Reyes there are five families from La Santísima, two from San Miguel, and three from Santa Cruz.

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138 wood, are drawn together by their common occupa-
476 tion. More marked is the part played by the twisting
621 of ropes of maguey fiber among the inhabitants of
[372] San Sebastian. This industry, introduced a generation
[284] ago by an emigrant to Tepoztlán, has spread to few
[439] houses outside of the *barrio* in which he settled; but in San Sebastian almost every household is so occupied, and when there is an important fair in some larger town in the state, the men of San Sebastian will go there almost in a body to market their lassoes and *riatas*.

184 The *barrios* have, indeed, obviously different cul-
621 tures, or, what is the same thing, different personal-
829 ities. The varying characteristics of the *barrios* are recognized by the Tepoztecos themselves, and at least the more reflective of them can express the differences they feel. Thus, Santo Domingo is the most civilized *barrio*, and the most patriotic (i.e., most nearly conscious of national feeling). Their chapel is decorated with Mexican flags; a modern orchestra was organized here, etc. Santa Cruz is strongly primitive—Catholic, exclusive, and independent—"Santa Cruz governs itself like a little republic." San Pedro is a *barrio* of poor, illiterate people who preserve to a marked extent ancient mentality and resent the presence of outsiders in their midst, etc.

103 The consciousness of *barrio* personalities receives an
621 expression in names which are applied to the *barrios*.
829 These names are in Nahuatl and are in every case the names of animals. The names are:

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Santo Domingo.....	*Cacame* ["Toads"]
La Santísima.....	*Tzicame* ["Ants"]
San Miguel.....	*Techihehicame* ["Lizards"]
Santa Cruz and San Sebastian.....	*Tepemaxtlame* ["Cacomixtles"]*
Los Reyes.....	*Metzalcuanime* ["Maguey worms"]
San Pedro.....	*Tlacuatzitzin* ["Tlacuaches"]†

* The bassariak (*Bassariscus astutus*).
† The opossum (*Didelphys marsupialis*).

These names are used, somewhat humorously, to refer to the members of the *barrio* considered collectively. Thus, as the saint day of Santo Domingo, January 12, approaches, it will be said: "*Ye acitihuitz ilhuitl cacame*" ("Now comes the *fiesta* of the toads").

There are two explanations offered by the Tepoztecos for these names. The first explanation says that the animal named is one which is particularly common at the time when the *fiesta* of that *barrio* is held. Thus, the *fiesta* of La Santísima is in June when the *milpas* are plowed for sowing and many ants appear on the ground; that of Santa Cruz in May when the cacomixtles come down to eat the sapotes which are ripe at that time and falling to the ground; that of Los Reyes in January when the maguey is opened for pulque and the worms come to eat the exposed pulp. The other explanation, which is more common, declares that the names are descriptive of the characteristics of the *barrio* members. The people of La Santísima are called ants because there are so many of them; they run over the ground like ants and get into all sorts of affairs. Those of Santo Domingo are called

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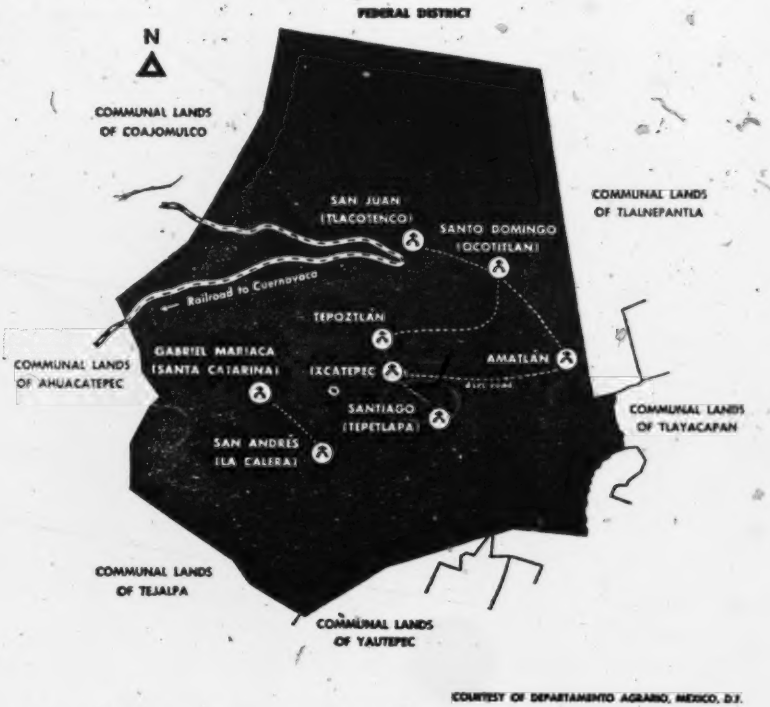
toads not only because they live nearest the water, but because they swell so with their own importance. Those of San Miguel are called lizards because they are so quick (*lijero*) and light minded, liking to play and sing so much at night on the street corners. Those of Santa Cruz are called cacomixtles because they live up under the rocks with the cacomixtles. These characterizations are certainly apt. It is doubtful if they represent modifications of pre-Columbian names of *calpolli*. Similar collective designations, though not [171] always in Nahuatl and not usually animal terms, are found in other Mexican villages.[1] But the names do represent the consciousness of *barrio* individualities and help to show how Tepoztlán is a federation of semi-independent units, as was no doubt the pre-Columbian *pueblo*.

[1] Gamio, *op. cit.*, Tomo II, Vol. II, p. 402.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37



COURTESY OF DEPARTAMENTO AGRARIO, MEXICO, D.F.

Fig. 2. Tepoztlán and surrounding municipios.

caliente or the hot zone. San Juan, the highest village, is at the lower limit of *tierra fría* while San Andrés, the lowest village, is at the upper limit of *tierra caliente*. Three of the villages, Tepoztlán proper, Ixcatepec, and Amatlán, are at approximately the same level within the temperate zone. Santo Domingo is about intermediate between the cold zone and the temperate zone, and Santiago is about intermediate between the hot zone and the temperate zone.

To the north of the village is the mountainous and heavily wooded area locally known as the monte, which constitutes approximately fifty per cent of the total area of the municipio. The predominant trees are pine, fir, oak, and madroña.[2] The monte with its forest constitutes the greatest single natural resource of the municipio. It has traditionally been the source of firewood, lumber, and charcoal; and, as we shall see later, the monte has been the subject of bitter inter-village

[2] The species of trees in the monte are as follows: oak or *encino* (*Quercus reticulata*), (*Quercus albocinato*), and (*Quercus Laurinea*); fir or *ayamel* (*Abies religiosa*); pine or *ocote*, (*Pinus patula*); *Cuaxochitl* (unidentified).

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Fig. 6. Rock terrace in Tepoztlán.

133 mations, lies the village of Tepoztlán.[6] (See Fig. 7.) These hills and rock out-
[361] croppings constitute two fairly well defined units. One begins just north of the village and curves toward the southeast, reaching to the neighboring municipio of Tlayacapan, a distance of about fifteen miles. The other begins just south of the village and extends to the east for a short distance to form the southern wall of the valley of Tepoztlán. The valley runs northwest-southeast and then turns directly south. The upper or northwestern end of the valley is considerably narrower than the lower end. The valley is drained by a small perennial stream locally known as the Río Atenco, which flows through the village and then turns east and south where it flows into the Yautepec River which in turn joins the Balsas River.

[823] The spectacular peaks and buttes of the rock outcroppings which rise to 1,200 feet above the village are locally known as *cerros* and are important landmarks to the people of Tepoztlán. Each *cerro* is known by its Náhuatl name and has an ancient 103 legend associated with it. Among the more important *cerros* are *El Tlahuitepetl*

101 [6] In the early sixteenth-century documents Tepoztlán is called "Tepuztlan." Writers on the history of the village have suggested that the term is derived from the Náhuatl *tepoztli* (iron) and *tlan* (abundance); that is, Tepoztlán means "place of abundant iron." But there are no iron deposits in Tepoztlán, nor is there evidence of any in the past. More recently, Muller has suggested another interpretation which would seem to be more in accord with all the facts. She suggests that Tepoztlán is the Hispanicized version of the older Nahua term *Tepoztectla*, which means "place of the broken rocks." This is derived from *tetl* (rock) and *postectli* (broken), and is an accurate description of the village site. Muller claims that some of the early chroniclers used this term for Tepoztlán. There would still remain the problem of explaining the use of a copper ax as the glyph for Tepoztlán in the Codex Mendocino. It may be that this glyph was used because they had no other way of showing broken rock. Certainly copper axes may have been imported by the village.

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(peak of light), *El Ehecatepetl* (peak of air), *El Cihuapapalotzin* (peak of the butterfly), *El Tlamintepetl* (peak of the wounded), *El Chalchitepetl* (peak of the treasure), and *El Ocelotepetl* (peak of the tiger). One of these *cerros* has been an important archaeological site since 1895, when a stone temple of a Tepoztecan deity was unearthed. This temple and the great scenic beauty of the village has attracted many tourists in recent years.

The *cerros* which surround the village form a natural fortress, and the rugged hilly country of which they are a part has served as a refuge from attack at various times in the history of Tepoztlán and is ideally suited for guerrilla warfare. According to ancient Tepoztecan legend the *cerros* served as defensive outposts against hostile peoples long before the Conquest. When the Spaniards first came to the village in 1521, Tepoztecans fled to the *cerros;* and more recently during the Revolution of 1910-20, when Tepoztlán was the scene of intermittent guerrilla warfare between Zapatista and federal soldiers, Tepoztecans again sought refuge in the *cerros.*

The location of Tepoztlán in an intermediate position between *tierra fría* and *tierra caliente* gives it the advantages of an excellent climate and a rich semitropical flora without the disadvantages of the cold to the north or the tropical heat to the south. Tepoztecans are aware of these advantages and consider themselves

Fig. 7. Tepoztlán, seen from cliffs to the north.

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Fig. 10. A street, resembling a dried-out stream bed.

rain. To the east is the large cathedral and convent, the most imposing and handsome buildings in the village. The convent is now a historical monument and is visited by tourists. Between the cathedral and the plaza is a row of whitewashed, flat-roofed stores. West of the plaza is a dirt road leading to the lower part of the village, to the cemetery, and to the village of Ixcatepec and more stores. The mills and some of the finer old houses of former *caciques* are also located on the plaza.

This part of the village presents the appearance and some of the hustle and bustle of a town, but the streets off the center are uniformly quiet and rustic and stamp Tepoztlán as a rural village. (See Fig. 12.) But even the center does not give the impression of an active, thriving community. The park, plaza, and public buildings show evidence of chronic neglect. Only for the annual Carnaval is the area well swept and the main fountain cleaned. The park is seldom occupied by the native population and, except when there are tourists, usually looks abandoned.

The stores are small and dark and have unattractive displays. On market days the few vendors and the small variety of goods available betray little commercial activity and a general air of decline. (See Fig. 13.)

The streets just off the plaza bear names indicated by placards. As is customary in Mexico the street names commemorate important historical events and outstanding local figures. Thus in Tepoztlán we find such street names as The Fifth of May, Aniceto Villamar, and No Reelección.[8] Only those houses in the center are

[8] Some of the street names are in Náhuatl and refer to pre-Hispanic figures, for example, Avenida del Tepozteco and Netzahualcoyotl.

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361
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Fig. 11. Tepoztlán, showing streets, plaza, and barrio chapels.

363
[103]
[205]

numbered, but not in any systematic manner. Street names and house numbers are not used by the local population nor do they appear on letters addressed to the villagers from the outside. Since mail remains in the post office until called for, this does not present a problem.

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At night the village appears even less sophisticated than during the day because of the lack of public street lighting. When there is no moon it is difficult, even dangerous, to walk through the rough streets without a flashlight or candle. Normally only young men venture out at night. Most people retire early, and the streets are dark and quiet. During the day the village also tends to be quiet, but many sounds can be heard: voices from within the houses, children crying or playing, housewives slapping tortillas into shape, people and animals walking over the stones, church bells, buses honking and racing loudly along the main thoroughfare, and an occasional lone peddler crying his wares. At night the only sounds

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flute or the *teponaztli* on the roof of the chapel, one or more sacred dances and sometimes *toros*—all constitute a program of ritual and entertainment which occupies from one to seven days. Although members of other *barrios* take part in the entertainment, the *barrio* whose *santo* is celebrated acts as host, and its members very much feel their collective importance.[20]

Barrio *esprit de corps* is also reflected in the inter-barrio competition, especially at the Carnaval, in the claims of superior miraculousness of some barrio saints as over against others, and in the traditional nicknames of each of the barrios. More recently, the soccer teams were organized on an inter-barrio basis, but this did not last.

Yet it would be easy to overestimate the strength of this *esprit de corps*[21] and the differences between the barrios. For example, Redfield wrote:

> The *barrios* have, indeed, obviously different cultures, or what is the same thing, different personalities. The varying characteristics of the *barrios* are recognized by the Tepoztecans themselves, and at least the more reflective of them can express the differences they feel. Thus, Santo Domingo is the most civilized *barrio* and the most patriotic (i.e., most nearly conscious of national feeling). . . . Santa Cruz is strongly primitive—Catholic, exclusive, and independent. . . . San Pedro is a *barrio* of poor, illiterate people who preserve to a marked extent ancient mentality and resent the presence of outsiders in their midst. . . .[22]

The consciousness of *barrio* personalities receives an expression in names which are applied to the *barrios*. These names are in Náhuatl and are in every case names of animals. The names are

Santo Domingo	Cacame [Toads]
La Santísima	Tzicame [Ants]
San Miguel	Techihehicame [Lizards]
Santa Cruz and San Sebastián	Tapemaxtlame [*Cacomixtles*]
Los Reyes	Metzalcuanime [Maguey Worms]
San Pedro	Tlacuatzitzin [*Tlacuaches*][23]

This account does not describe present-day conditions as observed by the informants and me, and would seem to be a considerable exaggeration of barrio differences even for 1926. At best it would perhaps apply to conditions before 1900 when barrio differences were greater. Barrio nicknames were remembered by our informants, but they are rarely used and have little function in the life of the community. We were also told that a man's barrio could be determined by small differences in dress or manner, but we could observe no such differences, nor were they explained to us. This is not to deny the existence of some barrio differences. It is true, for example, that Santa Cruz has the reputation of being the

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 78.

[21] Some of the symptoms of weakness are the very poor turnout of barrio members for the planting and harvesting of the barrio milpa, the lack of candidates willing to serve as *mayordomo*, and the renting out of the barrio milpas on a cash basis.

[22] *Ibid.*, p. 80.

[23] *Ibid.*, p. 81.

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THE VILLAGE AND THE MUNICIPIO

The relations of the village with the municipio are closer and more personal than those with any of the larger units discussed so far. Tepoztecans know the municipio intimately—they know its topography, history, legends, natural resources, people, and villages. Even small children can name the seven villages, and know the way to each. The limits of the municipio are also well known, as are the details of the many recurring boundary disputes with neighboring municipios. It is within the bounds of the municipio that the every-day world of the Tepoztecan exists. Here the farmers work the communal lands, cut and burn the communal forests, graze their cattle, hunt for medicinal herbs, and attend village fiestas.

The fact that the village of Tepoztlán is the *cabecera* of the municipio gives Tepoztecans a sense of pride and superiority over residents of the remaining villages. Tepoztlán has for centuries had a dominant position in relation to the other villages.

In treating of the units larger than the municipio, we have spoken about cultural factors and have dealt with history within that category. In the case of the municipio, the historical factor is much more important and deserves special consideration. Although the state of Morelos is a relatively recent political entity dating from 1867, the political and geographical unit equivalent to the present-day municipio dates back over four hundred years to the pre-Hispanic era

According to a legend in Tepoztlán concerning the formation of the municipio, the surrounding villages were originally defensive military outposts of the central village of Tepoztlán where political control rested. Before the Spanish Conquest, Tepoztlán was frequently at war with the surrounding towns and, therefore, needed outposts to hold off surprise attacks. Only in this way can present-day Tepoztecans explain the location of San Juan in a place that has no water supply.

While we have no reliable historical data on the origins of the municipio as such, there is no question but that six of the seven present-day villages existed before the Conquest and that the present-day boundaries of the municipio are about the same as those before the Conquest. The geographical unit represented by the present-day municipio is therefore an ancient one.[8]

Before the Conquest, Tepoztlán was a semi-independent *señorío* (kingdom) which was administratively subject to Huaxtepec. Tepoztlán with its surrounding

[8] In *Relación*, pp. 238-39, the six outlying villages are referred to as *estancias* of Tepoztlán and are named and described as follows:

"The *estancia* of Santiago, called Tepetlapan, which is one of the six *estancias* of the said town, is toward the south, in the direction of Yautepeque. They say it is so named because it is built on coarse rock, which is called Tepetate. . . .

"The *estancia* of Santa María Magdalena, which is the second *estancia* of the six, and is a little to the east of this town, they say is called Cimatlen (Amatlán) because in ancient times they had there an idol which they worshipped which they called Ometecatl, and which acknowledged homage to the devil (*sic*) of Tepoztlán.

"And the *estancia* of Santo Domingo, third of the six, which stands sloping a little to the north of this town, they say is called Xoxotitlán now and formerly Ehuichitlan, which means land of

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175 631 villages is always listed as a single unit in the tax lists and in the early colonial documents. It appears as such in the *Matrículo de Tributos de Moctezuma*, a copy of which was obtained by the first viceroy of Mexico, Mendoza. Its relation to "Huastepeque" is also given in the *Relación de Tepuztlan* of 1580 and in later documents. After the Conquest, the older administrative lines were altered and Tepoztlán became subject to Cuernavaca, its ancient enemy.

[628] We know very little about the relations between Tepoztlán and the other villages of the municipio after the Conquest, but some documents suggest considerable friction. In a document from the *Hospital de Jesús*, dated January 19, 1774, we learn that the governor of Tepoztlán complained to the authorities in Cuernavaca that four of the villages traditionally subject to Tepoztlán had recently rebelled and had obtained the privilege of paying taxes separately.

628 631 The bonds between Tepoztlán and the surrounding villages of the municipio are numerous. The communal lands which belong to the municipio, the inter-village trade, the bi-weekly market at Tepoztlán are the strongest economic bonds.

[182] Administratively, Tepoztlán is the center to which the other villagers must come to register births, marriages, and deaths; to pay taxes, federal and state; or to get a certificate of good conduct. The villagers are also dependent upon Tepoztlán for

[793] their religious services, baptisms, communions, Mass, and confession, for only Tepoztlán has a resident priest. The priest visits each village once or twice a year on the occasion of the village fiesta. The fiesta system also brings the villagers together, for there is much inter-village visiting on such occasions.

[608] Tepoztlán is also related to the surrounding villages by ties of *compadrazgo*. In almost all cases, however, the dominant position of Tepoztlán is reflected by the fact that the other villagers seek out Tepoztecans as godparents and not vice versa. Although Tepoztecans have many godchildren in the surrounding villages, the converse is not true.

[582] Ties of marriage within the municipio are surprisingly weak. In all there are less than a dozen individuals from other villages in the municipio married into Tepoztlán. Cases of Tepoztecans going to live in the smaller villages are practically unheard of. There are more marriages between Tepoztecans and people from villages outside of the municipio than within it.

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103 flowers like ears of corn, which in the Mexican language are called *elotl*, and Xocotitlán because there are some fruits there which are called *guayabas*.

"The *estancia* of San Juan, which is in the direction of Mexico City and at the northern part of this town, is called Tepecuytlapilco, as they say because it is situated at the top of a hill, for so it signifies in the Spanish language.

"And the *estancia* of Santa Catalina, which is in the direction of Cuernavaca and at the eastern part of this town, they say it is called Cacatepetlac because it is built upon coarse rock and as it is of little use for growing things; the grass is short and this is what it means in the Spanish language.

"The *estancia* of San Andrés, which is the sixth and last of all, and stands among some hills to the south of this town, they say is called Alacueyacan (Atlacueyacan) in the Mexican tongue, which in the Spanish means land which was surrounded by reeds or place where many reeds grow, for it appears that formerly there were many there."

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551 which the child is most frequently called. Many names are shortened for daily use, and nicknames are common for boys. The children take the surname of the father as their own. For example, when Juan Gómez marries Carlota Villamar, their son Francisco may sign his name as Francisco Gómez Villamar or just Francisco Gómez.[2]

291 The parents alone, or sometimes with the help of the grandparents, prepare the necessary clothing for the new baby. In former days, when a girl married at twelve 854 or thirteen, the burden of preparation for the first child fell upon her mother-in-law or mother who usually made baby clothes out of old clothing. Although this is still true in the majority of cases, some more acculturated young wives prepare new baby clothes when they become pregnant for the first time. Later children are generally dressed in the used clothing of the first child. Used clothing is given away [735] only to intimate relatives or to poor people who beg; to offer such clothing to friends [578] or distant relatives would offend them.

Infants are dressed in cotton shirts and *pañales* or diapers of rags tied around the waist with a string. This string is often tied so tightly as to leave a deep red welt. The clothing of infants up to three months is generally warmed before being put on. Dresses are put on girls, and pants on boys, at about four months. Young infants are kept warm by a blanket; older ones, particularly in better-to-do families, by woolen sweaters. Girls' ears are pierced usually about one week after birth, but [304] often later, by a competent female. Red, green, or black silk thread is drawn through the ears until earrings are provided.

515 Infants are expected to be kept fairly clean. Most babies up to one year are bathed 854 every three days, but some young mothers bathe their first-born son every day, sometimes even twice a day if the infant is restless. They are bathed in warm water during the warmest part of the day. Most mothers are careful to keep the soap out of the baby's eyes, and babies seem to enjoy their baths. After the bath they are rubbed with alcohol to warm them or are dusted with talcum and are dressed in clean clothing.

854 *Pañales* are changed whenever soiled or only once a day, depending upon the mother. In general, first-born or favorite children are changed more often, as are the children of the more educated families. Other women tend to add dry cloths over the wet ones and make a complete change only when there is a bowel movement. The most *dejada* or careless mothers reuse soiled rags without washing them and may not clean the child for a long time after a bowel movement. For the most [164] part, however, babies are kept clean and do not suffer unduly from rashes or skin irritations caused by diapers.

[2] It is interesting to note that as late as 1806, most people in Tepoztlán still followed the Indian [103] custom of identifying people by the name of their house site, in Náhuatl. A census of the village taken at this date shows most of the names as names of house sites, with the first name in Spanish preceding it. The following are some examples of how the names appear in this census, Juan Isidro Tlatelpa, Mariano Eusebio Tecuapan, María Tomasa Tecuapan, María Victoriano Ayopac, María Luisa Tejoac, etc. Note that the surnames are in Náhuatl. These "surnames" were really the names of the house sites, or *sitios*.